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ABSTRACT

The careful integration of editorial content, graphic design, and advertising to create a successful magazine package is not a phenomenon of the last half of the twentieth century. As early as the 1890s, the first publishers of "Vogue" magazine had established an editorial-advertising-design mix in the fashion magazine that was calculated to attract a highly specialized audience, appealing to their particular interests with a unique combination of ingredients. When Conde Nast succeeded the first publisher, Arthur B. Turnure, in 1909, he continued to develop Turnure's approaches to the magazine's marketing and content. Over the next 20 years, Nast brought the integration of the editorial content, the graphic design of the magazine, and the selection of specialized advertisers to a new state of the art. Nast accomplished this through his own leadership and through the work of his editor-in-chief Edna Woolman Chase and his art director Heyworth Campbell. (RL)

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Magazine Division

VOGUE, 1892 - 1928:

AN HISTORICAL LOOK AT THE EVOLUTION

OF ONE MAGAZINE'S

EDITORIAL-ADVERTISING-DESIGN MIX

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EDITORIAL-DESIGN-ADVERTISING MIX

The essential role which the editorial, advertising and design functions play in the creation and ultimate success of the contemporary magazine is commonly accepted in modern magazine publishing. While a superficial look at the history of magazine publishing might suggest that a careful integration of editorial content, graphic design and advertising to create a successful magazine package is a phenomenon of the last half of the twentieth century, the thoughtful student of magazine publishing might properly ask whether that is true.

Has the 1960-70s trend toward specialization in magazine publishing been the arena in which publishers have learned to define specific editorial contents, advertisers and products to be advertised, and design approaches to enhance their messages to best reach their intended readers? Or did this level of refined thinking about magazine publishing predate the present trends?

A careful study of the publishing histories of selected magazines over the past century indicates there were publishers in the nineteenth and early twentieth century who brought highly sophisticated thinking to the development of their magazines. For example, the publishers of the fashion magazine Vogue set about from the beginning to effect a careful blend of editorial content, typographic design, and advertising in order to accomplish the magazine's intended purpose. The present research surveys

the evolution of that fashion magazine's editorial, advertising and design mix over its first forty years of publication and highlights some of the key events in its development during the years from 1892 through 1928.

Introduction

Founded by Arthur B. Turnure and brought to perfection by his successor Condé Nast, Vogue magazine was shaped by three primary internal forces during the first forty years of its existence: a unique and well-defined editorial concept, a deep commitment to typographic excellence, and a sound economic base built on innovative advertising philosophies.

The development of these three influences is best seen by examining records of the magazine during the period from 1892 to 1928. That time frame divides itself into two primary periods, defined by the tenure of the magazine's original publishers and art directors. The internal forces outlined above were characteristic of both periods, during which each publisher contributed to the development of the magazine's editorial concept, its visual appeal, and its solid financial foundation for future growth.

Under Turnure, who began laying the foundation, development was hindered by the lack of strong staff leadership in each of these areas. Although there were editors, Turnure made many, if not most, of the editorial decisions. In the area of art and typography, Turnure again assumed primary responsibility, in spite of the brief period during which co-founder Harry McVicker was the art director. Significant help did come later in the development of the economic base, after advertising manager Tom McCready introduced a major innovation in Vogue's advertising policies.

In contrast, under Nast's leadership the development of these forces closely paralleled the contributions of specific persons to whom authority was delegated. By 1928, Vogue's editorial concept dictated American fashions under the editorial leadership of Edna Woolman Chase. The deep commitment to typographic excellence introduced the magazine's readers to both the latest in magazine design and the work of the leading artists and photographers of the day under the guidance of Art Director Heyworth Campbell. Finally, none of this would have been possible without the strong economic base built by publisher Condé Nast, who, with his sound business judgment, advertising background, and abiding commitment to his publications, spared nothing that might enhance the magazines and bring to reality his vision of what they could accomplsih.

Laying the Foundation:
The Turnure Years: 1892 - 1906

Editorial Concept

When Arthur B. Turnure and Harry McVickar began publishing Vogue in 1892, Turnure described the new publication as "a dignified authentic journal of society, fashion and the ceremonial side of life."[1] In short, Vogue was designed to be a fashion magazine edited exclusively for rich New Yorkers.

There were other fashion magazines being published when Vogue made its appearance as a society weekly, but Turnure envisioned a fashion magazine with a difference. Vogue was unique in its editorial approach; it was a specialized publication in a time of general magazines.

The leading fashion publications of the day, Godey's Lady's Book, Peterson's Magazine and the newer Delineator, had been reporting news of

Paris fashions to American women for over half a century (a decade for Butterick's Delineator). But, each of the three was edited for a general audience, appealing to women everywhere without respect to their financial or social status.

In contrast, Vogue was published by the Fashion Company, whose 250 stockholders were all listed in the Social Register and included such prestigious names as the Vanderbilts, Morgans and Whitneys.[2] The magazine contained articles replete with advice for people with servants and rules of etiquette for parlor games, yachting and horseracing. In 1894, two years after its founding, the original company was reorganized into the Vogue Company. Many of the original stockholders sold at a sacrifice, but Turnure retained the management of the new company.[3] For almost fourteen years, until his death from pneumonia on April 13, 1906,[4] he edited and published Vogue for the affluent men and women for whom the magazine was originally designed.

In time, the execution of his editorial statement made in the first issue of December 17, 1892, said more about what the magazine was designed to be than had the description itself. When Vogue celebrated its thirtieth year of publication in 1923, a staff writer described Turnure's policy for Vogue as being ". . . to do everything the other magazines of the day did not do; and nothing that they did."[5]

Typographic Excellence

For the most part, the student of American magazine history has ready access to information about the early growth of Vogue's editorial concept, as outlined above. Much less attention is given, however, to the fact that the founders of Vogue were equally concerned about both the

visual treatment which they planned to give the content of the new publication and the advertisers whose products would be displayed in the magazine. The larger context of Turnure's often-quoted description of the magazine's editorial goals reads:

> The definite object is the establishment of a dignified authentic journal of society, fashion and the ceremonial side of life, that is to be for the present, mainly pictorial.
>
> . . . .
>
> Special attention is asked for the quality and character of the advertisements. Those who are familiar with the business firms of New York will recognize at a glance that Vogue represents leading merchants and a class of trade of the highest order. It is apparent also that pains have been taken to make those pages distinctly attractive, and it is the intention to have them grow steadily in interest so that the advertising sections of Vogue shall become an extensive, accurate and invaluable guide to buyers of fine goods and shall be enhanced as far as possible by illustration.[6]

Turnure's deep interest in the appearance of the magazine led to Vogue's reputation as a graphically well-executed magazine, a reputation which dated from the first issue. Chase later reported that an unidentified "daily press" said the premier issue was "very pretty";[7] Mott described the first issue as "well printed and handsome typographically."[8]

In her autobiography Chase wrote, "Typography was [Turnure's] passion, and while the merit of much of the material in the early issues of Vogue is debatable, typographically the magazine was a model."[9] The early Vogue was heavily illustrated. While Editorial Director Alexander Liberman's claim that Vogue was "the first illustrated fashion magazine" might be debated in its strictest sense, it also points to the founders early concern for the care to be given to the graphic execution of Vogue.

The early magazine had an art director in its co-founder, Harry McVickar. McVickar "drifted away" soon after the magazine's first editor, Josephine Redding, left around the turn of the century; after that,

Turnure made up and edited the magazine "practically singlehanded."[11]

However, whatever its virtues, the design and layout of Vogue in its earliest years would not compete with today's standards. Chase wrote,

> In the early days Vogue's staff was small and the atmosphere around the office informal and non-professional . . . The make-up, too, had a certain nonchalance about it. A page otherwise devoted to fiction might be broken up with a couple of photographs of the house of a socially prominent couple, and we once illustrated a love story of a girl on an army post with drawings of a plump, belligerent trout on hooks. The idea that an illustration might plausibly implement the text had yet to gain a footing.
>
> There were many drawings of dresses, but few descriptive captions, although we would sometimes say: "for descriptions see printed text on another page." Just what page that would be was as much a surprise to the staff as to the subscriber, for no number was ever given.[12]

It was, no doubt, one of the lower points in Vogue's graphic history.

Advertising and Economic Base

Aside from a direct study of the advertising in the early issues, details of the Vogue Company's advertising and financial growth through the years from 1894 to 1906 are not readily available. However, one innovation of the early years stands out as being particularly important to the growth of the magazine's advertising policies, both in those early years and later.

Turnure early hired Tom McCready to be advertising manager for Vogue. At the time, Vogue had virtually no advertising and, for some time after he was hired, McCready had difficulty obtaining the advertising revenue needed for the magazine's success. Then McCready made a suggestion which changed the direction of both the editorial and advertising policies at Vogue. Edna Woolman Chase wrote:

> . . .Even Turnure . . . was beginning to despair, when one day Tom secured a full-page advertisement from Best and Co. . . . From conversations he had had with the trade, (McCready) believed he could get many more such pages were Vogue to develop primarily as a fashion magazine and a practical shopping guide rather than a gazette of social activities. . . Turnure could develop a class of advertising peculiarly germaine to Vogue.
>
> . . . Mr. Turnure apprehended that in a fashion magazine subscribers would be as interested in big, well-illustrated advertisements as in the text and editorial drawings, and from that belief evolved his conviction that the old method of selling space by the agate line should be abolished. He decided to sell in big blocks, cheaply, and to encourage advertisers to use the space liberally and illustrate it profusely.[13]

The idea was accepted. As a result of Turnure's policy, Vogue's advertising revenue grew. Pringle has written that by the time Turnure died, retail merchants in New York considered the magazine a good medium and most of the larger stores advertised in it. The magazine continued to appeal to a sophisticated and moneyed class, and was respected for its "well-informed reports on fashion for men as well as for women."[14] By 1909, Vogue's circulation had grown to 25,000[15] and it had a reported annual advertising revenue of $76,111.[16]

Perfecting the Idea:
The Nast Years, 1909-1928

In 1909, Condé Nast purchased Vogue from the Turnure family. Although Time later described the 1909 Vogue as "a tottering, 24-page fashion and socialite magazine,"[17] Nast had in the publication both the advertisers and the audience to whom he wanted to appeal with the first of his "class magazines," a category of publications which he created.

Nast's Philosophy for Vogue:

the Editorial, the Visual and the Economic

Nast's definition of the "class magazine" wedded the editorial, the visual, and the advertising aspects of a magazine into a unit in which each of these elements was so interrelated that one could not fulfill its function without the other. Although it would appear that Nast's idea was not so different from Turnure's, it was Nast's greater vision of what the magazine could become which set the pace for the further evolution of Vogue's editorial content, design, and advertising policies in the years that followed.

Nast recognized the importance of the magazine's being of such high visual quality that both advertisers and readers would be drawn to the magazine. His often-quoted summary of his philosophy was:

> If you had a tray with two million needles on it and only one hundred and fifty thousand of these had gold tips which you wanted, it would be an endless and costly process to weed them out. Moreover, the one million eight hundred and fifty thousand which were not gold-tipped would be of no use to you, they couldn't help you; but if you could get a magnet that would draw out only the gold ones, what a saving![18]

After he purchased the magazine from the Turnure family, Nast set about to make Vogue into just such a magnet.

Nast moved slowly in making changes at Vogue. Accounts of the period immediately following the transfer of ownership repeatedly tell about the year or more that Nast spent poring over the company's financial records and the past issues of Vogue. Finally he told a waiting staff,

> You have, in my judgment, a perfectly balanced editorial policy. . . . With a few minor changes in formula, and the considerable change in method of presentation that added capital will enable us to make, I believe that Vogue is destined to become the greatest of all class magazines.[19]

Thus Nast adopted the Turnure editorial-advertising package: an exclusive fashion magazine designed to appeal to the wealthy and socially elite. Under Nast's influence over the next twenty years, Vogue remained first and foremost a fashion magazine, whose editorial policy was summarized by Editor-in-Chief Edna Woolman Chase when she said, "To catch the first faint footstep of approaching fashion, is, in a nutshell, what we expect Vogue to do for American women."[20]

Unlike Turnure, Nast did not try to wear all the hats of a highly skilled staff. Instead, he assembled an impressively talented staff which became as important to Vogue's early growth as the strong philosophical base on which the magazine was built. Frederick Yoxall wrote,

> [Nast was] the perfect proprietor because he was the complete publisher. He understood everything: journalism, illustration, typography, promotion, accountancy. But, above all, he understood the choice of lieutenants.[21]

To "lieutenant" Edna Woolman Chase, Nast entrusted responsibility for the editorial development of Vogue. Chase held Vogue's primary editorial positions from 1914 to 1952. The importance of her work has been described by Agnes Rogers, who wrote:

> Condé Nast's love of France and his informed interest in art, the theatre, and decoration (not to mention his business acumen) were important elements in the development of an authoritative magazine of fashion at a time when the great Paris houses still dominated the fashion world, but Mrs. Chase's judgment, taste, and uncompromising standards of perfection were the real heart of Vogue's success.[22]

Chase influenced both the verbal and the visual execution of the magazine. Yoxall wrote,

> She was a brilliant editor, yet I was never able to analyze her brilliance. It seemed to come from instinct rather than knowledge.

> . . . She could not tell an artist or a photographer how to draw or photograph, nor a designer how to lay out a page; But she was an unerring judge of the best illustration and layout. . .she had a sixth sense for what would interest fashionable women. She had sensitive antennae tuned to the discoveries of others, and was quick to pounce on any talent of which she had heard. . .[23]

Cipé Pineles Burtin has said, "One has a lot of influence if one is interested. Mrs. Chase. . .was never indifferent."[24]

It was through Chase's keen interest in the magazines' visual appeal that Vogue's first art director, Heyworth Campbell joined the staff in 1914. His first work for Vogue, beginning as early as 1909, was completed as a free-lance artist, illustrating features and drawing borders for articles and photographs. During the fourteen years (1914-1928) that he directed the artwork for the Nast magazines, Campbell became "widely recognized as a pioneer in magazine design, typography and layout."[25]

In 1929, Douglas McMurtrie wrote, "'Vogue' has always kept ahead of the times in makup and general style, the layout of its pages representing some of the most distinguished work in American typography."[26]

Nast, too, in his commitment to create a visually exciting publication, revolutionized the magazine's use of art and photography. He was not satisfied with the existing standards of fashion art in America in the early 1900s. So he began hiring fine artists to do fashion illustrations and photography. It was a novel idea at the time, yet it set the pace for the magazine's artwork over the next half century. As a result of the policy, George Plank's exotic, highly decorative drawings and Helen Dryden's delicate fashions dominated Vogue's covers from 1914 through the early 1920s, and the Baron Gayne de Meyer's soft-focus, ethereal photographs filled the editorial pages. When de Meyer went to Harper's Bazaar in 1923 (then Harper's Bazar), the photographer Edward Steichen took his place.

By the end of the decade, other now-famous names had begun to make their mark at Vogue: Cecil Beaton, LePape and Benito, to name a few. Even Erte, the artist-designer who made his name at Hearst's Bazaar, completed some of his earliest work for Vogue.

Agnes Rogers summarized the impact which these fine artists and photographers had on the magazine in the decade following 1914, when she said,

> . . . in that golden period an entirely new kind of magazine was developed. A brilliant format was designed by Heyworth Campbell; a new standard of fashion drawing was set by encouraging real artists, both French and American, to turn their talents to "commercial" art; Baron de Meyer introduced a revolutionary style of photography; fashion reporting for the first time had sparkle and precision. The result was a product of originality, elegance, and distinction.[27]

For himself, Nast retained the role of publisher, developing a medium for advertising which was virtually unparalleled by the end of the 1920s. Beyond the creation of a visually exciting package edited for an highly specialized readership, Nast used a number of other ploys to attract advertisers.

First, Nast limited Vogue's circulation to 150,000: the select group of readers and advertisers, the core of which already comprised Vogue's lists when he bought the magazine. In so doing, he defied the popular, turn-of-the-century approach to circulation building which was "to cater to the multitudes and to sell so many copies of one's publication that advertisers couldn't afford not to use it."[28] As do many contemporary publishers, Nast realized the latter approach resulted in much waste in the media.

Secondly, Nast reduced the periodicity of Vogue from its original weekly publication to semi-monthly. Within two years after the change,

Vogue was reported to have taken the lead of women's publications in the volume of advertising, as a direct result of the change.[29]

Nast also retained a low subscription and newsstand cost of the magazine to its readers. Turnure had priced the magazine at ten cents, "to tempt people of slender means to buy the periodical in order to find out what Society was doing."[30] Nast continued to base his subscription and single issue prices on Frank Munsey's philosophy of selling a magazine for less than the cost of production, relying on advertising rates based on circulation figures for the subscription rate deficits. By 1928, the cost per issue for Vogue had been raised to thirty-five cents per issue, but it still was described as "the most reasonably priced of the fashion magazines."[31]

In 1931 Bakeless wrote,

> . . . in the case of the immensely profitable magazines . . . [advertising] completely overshadows the pittance paid by the subscriber. To the publishers of magazines of this sort, the reader is important primarily as a subject for the advertiser's blandishments. . . Sometimes the appeal of the advertiser becomes completely dominant, and the reader may buy such a magazine as . . . some of the Nast publications primarily for the advertisements.[32]

Nast was also recognized for his early work in zone advertising. By 1919, he had

> . . . launched and secured general recognition for the so-called zone system of advertising, by means of which an advertiser is enabled to purchase and use just that portion of the circulation of a national medium which is distributed in the particular territory he desires to reach.[33]

It appears there was no phase of the magazine's welfare about which Nast did not have a philosophical or pragmatic solution to be applied. For above all, Nast was a businessman.

Vogue:, 1928:

A Measure of Success

The impact which Nast's larger vision had on Vogue's pages in the years that followed his purchase of the magazine has been summarized by H. W. Yoxall who wrote:

> Although Vogue has always been primarily a fashion magazine, it has never been merely a fashion magazine. Its bound volumes contain a richer anthology of the art and writing of our times than those of many literary and artistic magazines.[34]

Nast's policies resulted in a rise in both the advertising revenues and circulation of the magazine. By 1926, Vogue ranked second only to the Saturday Evening Post in advertising revenue among all American periodicals.[35] By 1928, it commanded a price of $1,500 for a full page of general advertising, and up to $3400 for a cover ad.[36]

By 1928, it had a circulation of 141,000,[37] and sister editions in three foreign countries (England, France and Germany). Nast had added Vanity Fair as a companion class magazine to Vogue. Other publishers had borrowed Nast's idea and were publishing competing class periodicals.[38]

Vogue had successfully carved out its specialized niche in the market. Pringle wrote:

> Vogue is widely read . . . by what the clothing fashion people call "the trade." . . . Manufacturers, wholesalers, jobbers, and retailers who produce or sell . . . all the . . . articles with which women adorn themselves. "The trade" reads Vogue and advertises in it because Conde Nast has built through the years, a very remarkable following. . . . It is a safe assumption that nine out of ten buyers in the United States read the magazine.[39]

Nast had also acquired, among other printing and publishing acquisitions, a 31⅓ acre printing plant in Greenwich, Connecticut. He bought the plant in the early 1920s and refurbished it, making it into one of the most advanced plants of its kind at the time, with facilities for type-

setting and letterpress printing. Each of the Nast publications, including Vogue, was printed at the Greenwich plant. A year later, in 1929, he would also establish his own engraving plant on Long Island.

At the end of 1928, the Condé Nast Publications reported net profits of $1,425,076. Nast stock was worth $4.43 a share on the common market. Profits were up over $200,000 from 1927. The company's gross revenue in 1928 was $8,485,929, and expenses were $6,637,920. Gross operating profits totalled $1,848,009.[40]

From 1909 until his death in 1942, Nast concentrated on the building of a solid economic base for the magazines he owned. The corporation became an increasingly large and successful operation, in spite of setbacks caused by the crash of Wall Street in late 1929. However, until his death, everything that went into Vogue's pages had to pass his personal inspection and approval.[41]

> Nast was never out of touch with every situation that affected the welfare of Vogue. His principal and deepest rooted interest. . .was always in increasing and improving the aesthetic contents of the periodicals. . . . the search for beauty--whether in illustration, engraving, photography, or printing--was his constant concern.[42]

Conclusion

The careful integration of editorial content, graphic design and advertising to create a successful magazine package is not a phenomenon of the last half of the twentieth century. As early as the last decade of the 1800s, the first publishers of Vogue established an editorial-advertising-design mix for the fashion magazine which was calculated to attract a highly specialized audience with just that unique combination of ingredients which would most appeal to that audience.

When Condé Nast succeeded the first publisher, Arthur B. Turnure, in 1909, he further developed Turnure's approaches to magazine. Over the next twenty years, Nast brought the integration of the editorial content, the graphic design of the magazine, and the selection of specialized advertisers to a new state of the art. This he accomplished through his own leadership, as well as that of Editor-in-Chief Edna Woolman Chase and Art Director Heyworth Campbell.

As a result, the magazine and the philosophies of publisher Condé Nast provide a model for the contemporary student of magazine publishing of the successful integration of editorial content, layout and design, and advertising, to create a complete marketing package.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Arthur B. Turnure, "Statement," Vogue, 17 December 1892, p. 16.

[2]Walter G. Robinson, "And Now the Makers of Vogue," Vogue, 1 January 1923, p. 75. Chase noted that this article was ghosted by staff writer Sara Birchall. See Edna Woolman Chase and Ilka Chase, Always in Vogue (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1954), p. 170.

[3]Ibid., p. 76. See also: Frank Luther Mott, "Vogue," A History of American Magazines, vol. 4: 1885/1905 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 756-62.

[4]"Arthur Turnure Dead," New York Times, 14 April 1906, p. 11.

[5]Robinson, "And Now the Makers of Vogue," p. 74.

[6]Turnure, "Statement," p. 16.

[7]Chase, Always in Vogue, p. 30.

[8]Mott, History of Magazines, p. 756.

[9]Chase, Always in Vogue, p. 30.

[10]Alexander Liberman, Introduction to Vogue Book of Fashion Photography, by Polly Devlin (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), p. 8.

[11]Chase, Always in Vogue, pp. 37, 48.

[12]Ibid., p. 33.

[13]Ibid., 48-50.

[14]Henry F. Pringle, "High Hat," Scribner's Magazine, 104 (July 1938): 17; Chase, Always in Vogue, p. 68.

[15]Ayer's Directory, 1909. The circulation for Vogue in 1909, when Nast bought the magazine, has been variously reported as 14,000. See "Fifty Years on the Crest," Time 64 (November 1, 1954): 50; and Chase, Always in Vogue, p. 68; Phyllis Lee Levin, The Wheels of Fashion (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965), p. 61.

[16]Robinson, "And Now the Makers of Vogue," p. 170.

[17]"Fifty Years on the Crest," p. 50.

[18]H. W. Yoxall, A Fashion of Life (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., Inc., 1966), p. 79.

[19]Robinson, "And Now the Makers of Vogue," p. 166.

[20]Doris Ullman, "Edna Woolman Chase," A Portrait of American Editors (New York: W. E. Rudge, 1925), p. 20.

[21]Yoxall, A Fashion of Life, p. 78.

[22]Agnes Rogers, "Editor in a Lionness's Mane," Saturday Review, 30 October 1954, p. 22.

[23]Yoxall, A Fashion of Life, p. 81.

[24]Interview with Cipé Pineles Burtin, Director of Publication Design, Parsons School of Design, New York City, 6 July 1979.

[25]Naomi Andrews, "Heyworth Campbell," The One Show: The 54th Annual of Advertising Art, 54th ed. (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1975), unpaginated.

[26]Douglas C. McMurtrie, Modern Typography and Layout (Chicago: Eyncourt Press, 1929), pp. 126-27.

[27]Rogers, "Editor in a Lionness's Mane," p. 22.

[28]Chase, Always in Vogue, p. 66.

[29]"Condé Nast," The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, vol. 17, (New York: James T. White & Company, 1916), p. 80.

[30]Mott, History of American Magazines, p. 756.

[31]Madeleine Ginsburg, "The 'Thirties,'" in Couture, ed. Ruth Lynam (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1954), p. 106.

[32]John Bakeless, Magazine Making (New York: The Viking Press, 1931), p. 4.

[33]Cyclopaedia of American Biography, p. 80.

[34]Yoxall, A Fashion of Life, p. 3.

[35]"Condé Nast," Time, September 28, 1942, p. 50.

[36]Rate Card, 1929, Letter from Shirley Connell, Vogue Information Service, The Condé Nast Publications, Inc., 350 Madison Ave., New York, New York 10017, 21 June 1979.

[37]Ayer's Directory, 1929.

[38]Henry F. Pringle, ("High Hat," Scribner's Magazine, 104: (July 1938), notes that William Randolph Hearst bought Harper's Bazaar in 1913 to compete with Vogue, and designed Town & Country to compete with Vanity Fair. By 1936, Country Life & The Sportsman and The Spur were also being published as class magazines. Of these, first Vogue and later together with Harper's Bazaar led in both circulation and advertising revenue. In the article "High Hat," (pp. 17-21ff), Pringle gives a detailed account of the growth and status of the class magazines.

[39]Ibid., p. 20.

[40]"Corporation Reports: Condé Nast Publications," New York Times, 2 April 1929, p. 43.

[41]Interview with C. E. Coryn, free-lance letterer, New York City, New York, 21 August 1979.

[42]Chase, Always in Vogue, p. 112.